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Community Satisfaction: Implications for Army Communities

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Because the quality of a community has a tremendous effect on the lives of its citizens, the Army is committed to making the Army community a better place for military members and their families to live and work. This paper reviews the literature to summarize the important factors contributing to satisfaction in civilian and military communities.

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COMMUNITY SATISFACTION: IMPLICATIONS FOR ARMY COMMUNITIES

CONTENTS

COMMUNITY SATISFACTION: IMPLICATIONS FOR ARMY COMMUNITIES

Throughout history, community or communal ties have been considered paramount to social order, even more important than the family or individual. It was the community that provided security, social control, supportive associations, sanctioning of relationships and economic opportunities. Communities, whether military or civilian, have been the places within which people established their identities, raised their families, influenced the political process and passed on their legacies to the next generation. The social institutions, such as law, religion, and education, fulfill the human need to achieve order out of the potential chaos of social and economic life.

Communities today are often characterized by high levels of transients, frequent turnover of personnel in community support programs, and low levels of involvement in voluntary organizations or informal support systems (e.g., Orthner, Brody, Hill, Pais, Orthner, & Covi, 1985; Wolley-Downs, 1979). This has led to a shift from communities based on intimate, primary relationships to those based upon temporary, secondary relationships. Concern over communities has become a central issue among civilian as well as Army leadership.

Because the quality of a community has a tremendous effect upon the lives of its citizens, there has been a growing commitment toward making the Army community a better place for military members and their families to live and work. The goal of the Army's involvement, according to The Army Family White Paper (1983), is ". . . assuring adequate support to families in order to promote wellness; to develop a sense of community; and to strengthen the mutually re-inforcing bonds between the Army and its families."

This paper examines the contribution that community satisfaction makes to the attitudes and experiences of community residents. The review focuses on both civilian and military studies. Because much of the research has been done on civilian populations, research on military communities will play a small but important role in the studies that are highlighted. It should be noted that the majority of military families do live in civilian communities. Only about one-third of

all military families actually live on a military installation at any one point in time (Robinson, 1988). The implications of the research for military communities will be maintained so that findings can be applied to military community support policies.

After providing a definition of community, this review will discuss various approaches that have been taken to community satisfaction. It will then examine the community in its context or setting--the environment, physical layout, and demographic characteristics of the community. Next, the discussion will focus on the services of the community and the informal social networks. Finally, the relation between community satisfaction and job satisfaction will be compared and the importance of community leadership and competence will be highlighted.

Community Satisfaction Approaches

The word community is often attached to a variety of different groups or collectivities. Hillary (1955) reported that were already 96 different definitions of community in the professional literature by the mid 1950s. Unfortunately, this condition has continued to expand rather than result in definitional consistency.

For the purpose of the present paper, community is defined according to Edwards & Jones (1976):

> Community is a group structure integrated around goals that derive from the people's collective occupation and utilization of habitational space. Members of the community have some degree of collective identification with the occupied space and the community has a degree of local autonomy and responsibility.

This definition was chosen because it incorporates many components found in other definitions, including people, location, geographic space, social and common ties.

Given the conceptual problems in defining community, it is not surprising that two divergent approaches to the study of community satisfaction have developed over the years. These approaches have been unidimensional and have focused on either the physical environment, with particular emphasis on services, or the social environment, such as the role of informal social supports. Increasingly, however, researchers have begun to combine these two approaches for a

multidimensional approach to community satisfaction (e.g., Bardo & Hughey, 1979; Johnson & Knop, 1970; Marans & Rodgers, 1975; Rojek, Clemente, & Summers, 1975).

Patterned after the early work of Davies (1945), researchers typically collected data utilizing either personal interviews or Likert-type questionnaires. The data was then factor analyzed, resulting in the listing of multiple factors or dimensions of community satisfaction. Frequently identified physical environment factors include the following: (1) public services, such as police and fire protection; (2) economics, particularly commercial services and job opportunities; (3) medical services; (4) educational services; (5) recreation and leisure activities; and (6) local government. The social factors include informal social supports and job satisfaction.

A major drawback to this type of research is that the concept of community satisfaction itself is left implicit in the discussions; i.e., community satisfaction is not clearly operationalized. Nor does there appear to be evidence for a theoretical basis to many of the scales which purport to measure community satisfaction.

Another difficulty with community satisfaction research has been comparing the results of studies that use global measures of satisfaction with those that use more specific measures. The way individuals respond to global measures of overall satisfaction is usually quite different from their responses to specific measures of community services or conditions. On a general level, one may be quite satisfied with a community while on a specific level the individual may express dissatisfaction with a particular service. Global measures of satisfaction may have somewhat limited utility unless they are used in relation to specific community attributes (Kennedy, Northcott, & Kiazel, 1978).

The Context of Community Satisfaction

Both military and civilian communities exist within a physical and social context. Some are geographically isolated, for example, while others are situated near other urban areas. Satisfaction with a particular community may be determined in part by the context or setting of the community. This includes environmental factors such as climate and terrain, the physical layout of the community, and individual characteristics such as age, race, or social class.

Although some of these factors cannot be altered, it is still important to consider the ways in which they might influence an individual's satisfaction with a community and the role military leaders can play in promoting a positive community environment.

Environment

The climate and terrain of an area can have surprisingly important effects on community satisfaction because they influence such diverse areas as one's finances, emotions, comfort, health, and safety. For example, due to the continual increase in heating and cooling costs, climate has an economic impact. Climate and weather can also affect people's moods and emotions--for example, one can feel "stir-crazy" when confined indoors during the winter.

Probably more than any other climate-related variable, temperature affects human comfort and daily activities. An average temperature of 65 degrees Fahrenheit with 65 percent humidity is thought to be ideal for work, play, and general well-being (Boyer & Savageau, 1985). Other environmental factors that potentially influence individual health and sense of well-being include humidity, terrain, environmental cleanliness and pollution and rainfall.

Physical Layout

The physical layout of a community is something that military leaders can sometimes influence. This includes such factors as the general appearance of the community, the density of buildings, the size of the community, and how conveniently located shops, schools, or other services are to residences. Much remains to be learned about links between the physical environment of a community and community life (Dunlap & Catton, 1979). There have been few studies that have looked at this dimension in either civilian or military communities.

Shumaker and Taylor (1983) hypothesized that increasing the physical quality of the environment results in higher levels of attachment to that setting. Fried (1982) reported that an increase in physical quality results in more congruence between the positive image residents of a community have of themselves and their setting, and results in a greater range of activities being carried out in the setting.

General appearance. The appearance of residential neighborhoods in the community has been found to affect how satisfied residents are with their community. The aesthetic quality of the community was among the major predictors of community satisfaction in one study of urban life (Widgery, 1982). Similarly, a factor defined by beauty, community maintenance, pride in the community, and sense of belonging accounted for a great deal of variance in community satisfaction among residents of "Middletown" (White, 1985).

The importance of a community's beauty and appearance may be linked as much to the absence of aesthetic qualities as to their presence. When decay and deterioration occur, fear of crime and lack of confidence in the future of the neighborhood may increase. In one such study, the researchers found that social class was an important mediating factor (Taylor, Shumaker, & Gottfriedson, 1985). In high-income neighborhoods, the incidence of physical decay was rare and thus not a source of concern. In low-income neighborhoods, decay was often attributed to outside sources such as landlords or city agencies more often than to residents. In middle-income neighborhoods, however, decay and deterioration were often seen as the product of resident behavior and thus a serious threat to the residents' feelings of safety and confidence in the future of the neighborhood.

Density. The interaction of community members can be influenced by the physical layout of the community, particularly the density of residences. Extremely high density, like that found in high rise apartment buildings in some military installations, may have the effect of drawing people inward to their private space (Hallman, 1984). In contrast, extremely low density provides very few neighbors with whom to relate.

When design features make effective use of public and private space, they can create a setting where neighboring is more likely to occur. Newman (1972) found that the greater the size of the apartment building in a housing project, the less use residents made of public areas in their development, the less social interaction they had with their neighbors, and the less sense of control they felt for interior and exterior public space.

The importance of the nearby natural environment has been investigated by Kaplan (1984). In a study of residents who lived in multiple-family housing complexes, she found that large open spaces were relatively unimportant contributors to community satisfaction. Most residents tended not to use such areas. A strong predictor of community satisfaction, however, was the opportunity to grow flowers and vegetables. Residents who had garden space available to them perceived their neighbors as friendlier and their complex as having a stronger sense of community than residents who did not have garden space.

Military housing. As pointed out by Vernez and Zellman (1987), military housing is a benefit that is both sought after and disliked. The financial benefits of living on-post are substantial, but the quality of the housing is often very poor (Warren, 1986). Many who live in post housing complain of a sense of second-class citizenship. Housing is not generally considered by military families to be a positive feature of the military, as medical care often is. Instead, it may contribute to marital and family dissatisfaction (Farkas & Durning, 1982).

Housing on post may also contribute to a sense of isolation and a lack of cohesion and community spirit. Families may feel isolated because they must live in rank-segregated areas. Additionally, post housing is often characterized by high turnover and low solidarity (Teitelbaum & Marlowe, 1988). Many military families would prefer to live in stable off-post neighborhoods.

An additional problem revolves around allocation of post housing. Generally, housing policies favor higher ranks with greater seniority in allocating scarce housing. Enlisted families are often neediest of post housing, while many officer families would prefer living off post but cannot if in the chain of command (Teitelbaum & Marlowe, 1988).

Community size. The size of the local community is often thought to play an important role in community satisfaction. It can also play a part in decisions regarding the services that the military needs to provide. During the rapid period of growth following the Industrial Revolution, social scientists warned of the declining "sense of community" that would accompany the rise of large communities (Simmel, 1950; Toennies, 1957; Wirth, 1938). Indeed, numerous researchers have found that

neighborhood and community satisfaction is inversely related to the size and density of the community (Baldassare, 1979; Christenson, 1979; Marans & Rodgers, 1974).

Many investigations have focused on the differences in satisfaction between rural and urban residents, particularly in regard to availability of services. In one such investigation, satisfaction with medical and commercial services was related to community size, but not in a consistent manner, while the relationship with public services and education was insignificant (Rojek, Clemente, & Summers, 1975). The researchers concluded there was no support for the argument that community satisfaction increases as a simple linear function of availablity of services, as indexed by population size of the community.

In comparing the advantages and disadvantages of communities in rural and urban areas, Johnson and Knop (1970) pointed out that urban areas offer a wider variety of employment opportunities and medical and commercial services whereas rural communities facilitate a sense of community and belonging. A similar conclusion was reached by Marans, Dillman, and Keller (1980). In their national survey, rural residents often described their communities as deficient with regard to road repair, public transportation, fire protection, and parks. However, these same rural residents reported higher life satisfaction, satisfaction with their standard of living, and satisfaction with the quality of their friendships than did urban residents.

Community Demographics

Demographic variables such as age, sex, race, education, or income are often included in studies of community satisfaction. In most studies, however, they have explained little of the variation in community satisfaction. In one early study , Davies (1945) concluded that sex and age were unrelated to community satisfaction while size of village was strongly associated. Jesser (1967) found that the effects of income, age, sex, age, and place of birth were insignificant. In contrast, the degree of social participation, the number of moves a person made, and the size of the community were all positively associated with community satisfaction.

Marans and Rodgers (1974) have argued that these "person characteristics" have an extremely modest effect on community satisfaction in comparison to "perceived environmental attributes." Several other researchers have observed that attributes of the community define much more of the variance in community satisfaction than do the characteristics of the respondents themselves (Goudy, 1977; Rojek et al., 1975).

Even though the effects of demographic variables are modest, some general trends can be determined. Satisfaction levels tend to increase with age but decrease with level of educational attainment (Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976). Stage of family life cycle is a better predictor than age, but it is a complex variable often combining age, marital status, and age of children into one index. With regard to race, blacks and other minorities tend to be more critical of their communities than are whites (Marans & Rogers, 1975).

The influence of demographic characteristics on community attitudes may be indirect. Factors such as income, education, and race may act as filters which permit advantaged residents to live wherever they prefer but which pose economic and discriminatory barriers in the civilian housing market to those with lower incomes. Other factors such as length of tenure in the community and the presence of children may act as prompters in the neighborhood selection process. Because of their added financial obligations and family concerns, homeowners and households with children may be more motivated than their renting or childless counterparts to seek out desirable neighborhoods and, once situated, take whatever actions are necessary to maintain the quality of their neighborhoods. Using data from the 1974-1976 U.S. Annual Housing Surveys, Lee and Guest (1983) found that as the proportion of black, renter, lower-status, or childless households increased, the percentage of residents who rated their neighborhoods "excellent" decreased. The authors concluded that satisfaction will be relatively low when a large segment of a neighborhood or community lacks the resources or incentives necessary to secure desirable neighborhood settings.

Support Systems and Satisfaction

In the preceding section, the contextual determinants of community satisfaction were discussed. In this section, the role of formal support systems will be examined. The formal support systems of a community are the concrete services and facilities that affect the daily lives of the residents. As noted earlier, this area has been heavily studied but often without regard to the social dimensions of community life. This omission is critical when studying services available to military families. It is not sufficient to study the quality of services without considering their social implications. Many military families are isolated from the broader civilian community because they are primarily using base services and programs (Martin, 1988). This may hinder the development of supportive neighboring relationships for those who live in the civilian community.

Although quality of services has often been used as an indicator of community satisfaction (e.g., Rojek et al., 1975), it may not provide enough information. The amount of statistical variance in community satisfaction scores explained by services tends to be low (18% in a study done by Zehner & Chapin, 1974; 19% in the study by Campbell et al., 1976).

Physical Environment vs. Social Environment

The results of studies that compare the relative contribution of physical characteristics with social characteristics are not clear-cut. For example, Zehner (1971) found that physical characteristics are stronger than social characteristics in predicting community satisfaction. In a study of 28 communities, Toseland and Rasch (1978) found that community (physical) characteristics were more important predictors of community satisfaction than either psychosocial or demographic variables. In contrast, Goudy (1977) found that social dimensions were more important to community satisfaction than services. Others have also emphasized the critical contribution of social factors to community satisfaction (Ladewig & McCann, 1980; Flanagan, 1978).

Subsistence Variables vs. Satisfiers

One way of understanding these apparently contradictory findings is suggested by a group of researchers interested in the role of leisure and recreation in community satisfaction (Allen & Beattie, 1984; Allen, Long, & Perdue, 1987). In a series of studies they have asked residents to rate both the importance of and their satisfaction with a variety of community services, such as economics, education, and leisure. Not surprisingly, residents perceived those dimensions of community life which are related to subsistence (i.e., economic factors, health and safety) as most important. Social and recreational needs were not viewed as important as other areas of community life. However, the dimensions rated as most important were generally not the same dimensions that contributed to community satisfaction. Leisure services were a major predictor of community satisfaction. The researchers concluded that some aspects of community life are critical to one's subsistence while others are essential to one's overall feeling of well-being and satisfaction. It may be more important to focus on the relative contribution of subsistence variables vs. satisfiers rather than of physical environment vs. social environment.

Some researchers have suggested that although recreation and leisure are not always considered critical by many community residents, the satisfaction level of residents would decrease significantly if leisure services and opportunities were removed from the community (Allen & Beattie, 1984). This was found to be especially true in a large Navy study in which over 90 percent of those surveyed indicated that their quality of life would deteriorate if recreation services were reduced (Orthner & Kingery, 1987).

Allen and Beattie (1984), based on Maslow's (1954) hierarchical theory of motivation, hypothesize that a hierarchy of community services exists, such that basic human needs must be provided for before higher order needs. It is the higher order needs, however, that motivate an individual and provide feelings of satisfaction. Recreation and leisure may be "frills" compared to housing, employment, or health services but they contribute significantly to the overall quality of life in a community.

Informal Social Support in the Community

Traditional definitions of community satisfaction have stressed institutional functioning, service delivery, and environmental quality (Bardo & Hughey, 1984). However, these represent only the formally organized components of a community. The importance of social relationships and network ties has often been ignored, as well as the relation of job satisfaction to community satisfaction. In the following section, the importance of informal social supports and the various types of supports will be discussed. The relation of job satisfaction to community satisfaction will also be examined.

Importance of Informal Social Support

Informal social support networks are a crucial aspect of community life. Social support has been defined as "an interpersonal transaction involving one or more of the following: (1) emotional concern (liking, love, empathy), (2) instrumental aid (goods or services), (3) information (about the environment), and (4) appraisal (information relevant to self-evaluation)" (House, 1981, p. 39). Social support networks are generally made up of family members, extended family, friends, neighbors, co-workers, and voluntary associations such as civic clubs or churches.

During the past decade, researchers have successfully demonstrated that physical and mental health are related to the availability of supportive ties (Wellman, 1981). Moreover, individual reports suggest that the help received from family, relatives, and neighbors is as helpful as that received from professionals (Lieberman & Mullan, 1978). Successful support systems seem to foster good health directly, encourage health-related behaviors, provide useful resources in stressful situations, and give participants helpful feedback for maintaining sound behavioral practices (Hammer, 1981). Weakened informal social support has been found to be related to problems such as wife abuse, child abuse, delinquency, drug abuse, alcoholism, poor physical health, and mental illness (Antonucci, 1985; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Whittaker & Garbarino, 1983). These relationships hold even when socio-economic status is taken into account.

Weak informal social support networks are characteristic of populations at risk, such as the elderly, the unemployed, families with a handicapped member, or newly divorced families. A common finding is that men generally have weaker informal social support networks than women (e.g., Orthner, 1981; 1985). Unmarried men seem to be especially vulnerable. Women, however, are also vulnerable at different stages of the life cycle, particularly women with young children or single mothers (Pilisuk & Parks, 1983).

Informal social support networks are based on exchange principles, so that people with fewer social and emotional resources are less able to establish supportive relationships. Because most of the research is correlational, the direction of effects is not well established. However, urban sociologists have clearly shown that changes in the community structure are often followed by the weakening of social networks, with negative effects on individuals and the community as a whole (Freudenburg, 1986; Warren, 1981; See Wampler & Brown, 1987). In a number of studies throughout this review, community size has been identified as a particularly important variable, with larger communities associated with lower levels of informal social support (Freudenburg, 1986; Oxley, Barrera, & Sadalla, 1981).

In addition to size, another important factor is the rate of growth. For example, one study that compared three small towns that had experienced substantially different growth rates found that rapid growth was accompanied by a decline in reliance on neighbors as sources of support (Greider & Krannich, 1985). Informal social networks take time to develop and a rapidly changing population makes such development difficult.

Types of Informal Social Support

Informal social support may be offered by family members, friends, neighbors, work associates, and voluntary associations, although the amount and type of support offered by each tends to differ. By far the greatest amount of research has been done on neighbors, with much less attention paid to how work associates and voluntary associations effect community satisfaction.

Friends. Friendships may be defined as the personal, confidante-level interaction between individuals. A recent study found that the best predictors of neighborhood satisfaction were indices of personal and social ties, such as the presence of friends in the neighborhood (Heller, Rasmussen, Cook, & Wolosin, 1981).

The size of a community may affect how easily people make friends. In a study comparing newcomers in an urban area to newcomers in a non-urban area, Franck (1983) found that the urban group initially had fewer friends than the non-urban group. After seven or eight months, however, there were no differences between the two groups with respect to number of friends or frequency of contact with friends. Franck hypothesized that the feelings of fear, distrust, and uncertainty that are associated with encountering strangers in the more congested, urban setting may be obstacles to the initiation and development of close relationships. Urban residents may have more difficulty in forming friendships because the perceived risk in becoming friendly was greater.

Friendships among military personnel and families are often strained by the frequency of moves. In both Army and Air Force samples, Orthner and his colleagues have found that friendship patterns tend to be rather weak, especially among men (Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982; Orthner, Brody, Hill, Pais, Orthner, & Covi, 1985). Fewer than half of the married men and their spouses in these studies report that they have very close friends. A similar pattern was found among youth from military families. Compared to civilian youth, military youth tend to have fewer friends and less close relationships with those they consider friends (Orthner, Giddings, & Quinn, 1987).

Neighbors. Neighbors can play an important role in contributing to satisfaction with a community. For example, the most important determinant of global community satisfaction in a study of 500 individuals who had recently moved from an urban area to a nonmetropolitan area was the perceived friendliness of neighbors (Sofranko & Fliegel, 1984).

Neighboring is often defined as borrowing or exchanging things with neighbors, visiting neighbors, helping or being helped by a neighbor with small tasks, and calling on neighbors for help in an emergency (Ahlbrandt, 1984). Neighbors

may provide socioemotional support, which is positively associated with neighborhood satisfaction and attachment (e.g., Fischer, Jackson, Stueve, Gerson, Jones, & Baldassare, 1977; Unger & Wandersman, 1982). However, close relationships with neighbors may not be desirable in every situation. In a homogenous neighborhood where there is a high concentration of primary ties which are relied on for multiple activities, residents may experience excessive demands, burdensome feelings of reciprocity, and a lack of privacy (Franck, 1983). A military post may be the perfect example of such a situation.

Neighbors may provide instrumental help, such as short-term commitments and assistance during emergencies (Litwak & Szelenyi, 1969). Among the factors influencing the likelihood of neighbors offering mutual aid are: (1) individual variables such as length of residence or having children (Michelson, 1977); (2) neighborhood variables such as homogeneity (Unger & Wandersman, 1982); (3) physical design features, such as cul-de-sacs, that promote propinquity (Gans, 1968); and (4) external threats to the neighborhood, such as changes in zoning regulations or an increase in crime (Henig, 1982).

Neighbors offer informational support when they pass on sources of family day care or provide information about local activities or meetings. As neighbors interact, they also communicate neighborhood norms on a variety of subjects from decorating to childrearing.

Research on neighboring in the military community is somewhat limited, and the results are often mixed. In his longitudinal study, Martin (1985) found that first-term cohort wives reported that they had developed supportive relationships with other women. They reported sharing rides, babysitting for each other, going shopping together, and attending functions together. Cadre wives, however, did not report the same frequency of supportive relationships. One explanation for this may be that cadre wives often do not live in as close proximity, and may be more financially independent and thus more likely to have personal transportation. Also, cohort wives are more likely to expect their relationships to continue and they may not fear the loss of relationships in the near future from fellow cohort wives.

Other research on military families has not generally reported the existence of supportive neighboring relationships (Orthner, 1980; Van Vraken, Jellen, Knudson, Marlowe, & Segal, 1984). Contacts with neighbors were not seen as particulary helpful, or were even considered irritations. Orthner (1980; Orthner et al., 1985) found that respondents did not usually feel close to their neighbors and were not likely to contact them when they had a problem. The high rate of mobility among military families may account for the lower rates of neighboring. Because the average Army family moves every 2-1/2 years (Defense Manpower Data Center, 1986), it may require too much effort to get close to one's neighbors when one of you will be moving in the near future.

Voluntary Organizations. Voluntary organizations may be defined as any group whose membership is noncompulsory and the members of which are not compensated for their efforts. Examples of voluntary organizations are churches, PTA, civic clubs, or Little League. It has been suggested that voluntary organizations might socialize or influence members to be more caring and more helpful to those in their community. In a study of how religiosity affects neighboring, Georgianna (1984) found that those who attended church more frequently helped and visited neighbors more than those who attended less often. In addition, they were more likely to be involved in neighborhood organizations. Similar results were found by Unger and Wandersman (1983), who found that informal neighboring increased with participation in block organizations.

Military studies have examined the influence of participation in voluntary organizations only indirectly. For instance, Orthner and Bowen (1982) found that respondents who attended church regulary were more likely to be aware of support programs than those who did not attend regularly. In the Families in Green study at Ft. Benning (Orthner et al., 1985), approximately 15% of active duty and 12% of spouses provided volunteer services in the past year. Volunteer participation was highest among those who were older and in the upper grades.

Many military wives find it difficult to participate in organizations because of lack of transportation or childcare services (Woolley-Downs, 1979). Spouses who had been in the military community longer were more likely to be involved in voluntary organizations. These women were older, and their active duty spouses were more likely to be of higher ranks than women who were not involved in

voluntary organizations. Thus, the younger women were more isolated and had less opportunity to make friends with other women in their military community. Additionally, these women had less opportunity to find out about support programs that might be helpful to them.

Recently the Army has taken steps to encourage supportive relationships between spouses in a unit. Family Support Groups have been formed within units to encourage friendly interactions and mutual assistance between spouses regardless of rank and to improve communication betweeen unit leaders and family members. (Teitelbaum & Marlowe, 1988). When family members feel part of the Army community culture, they are less likely to feel stressed by the demands of Army life (Teitelbaum & Marlowe, 1988).

Work associates. The workplace can be the source of an important support system. To create such a support system and to foster a cohesive spirit, the Army has developed a Unit Manning System designed to keep some of its soldiers in stable small groups. Research has indicated that these soldiers and their families have developed strong bonds from spending several years together and sharing in common experiences such as separations and overseas moves (Martin, 1988). These bonds seem to mediate many of the stresses inherent in military life. Close relationships with work associates can provide the sense of belonging, companionship, and support necessary to enjoy and cope effectively with the demands of military life. Soldiers who experience satisfying peer relationships have lower attrition and higher reenlistment (Vernez & Zellman, 1987). These relationships can also form the basis for a strong sense of community.

Attachment to Place

The concept of community attachment may seem paradoxical to the military because of frequent relocations, but it is potentially important, especially to the morale of soldiers and their families. Ideally, the Army would like to foster healthy but short-term attachments to their communities. Shumaker and Taylor (1983) provide an excellent discussion of attachment to place--the psychological meaning of an environment for a person or group, the transactions that lead to the development of this meaning, and the positive emotional and social involvements that result from

this bond. Research on attachment to place has generally focused on the types of people who are more attached to place than others, but the results have been inconsistent.

Role of Physical vs. Social Environment

The disagreement over the relative importance of the physical environment vs. the social environment in determining community satisfaction is also found in the attachment literature. The critical role of social relations in explaining commitment and attachment has been emphasized by a number of researchers (Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976; Janowitz & Kasarda, 1974; Zehner, 1972). In contrast, other researchers have argued that the physical resources for activities and experiences are more important in determining attachment than are social interactions. Fischer has stated that local interpersonal connections are not generally sufficient by themselves to produce attachment to place (Fischer et al., 1977). Environmental attributes, such as objective housing quality, objective neighborhood quality, and ease of access to nature, were found to be the main factors in contributing to variations in community attachment in one study while local social interactions contributed only minimally (Fried, 1982).

Implications of Community Attachment

Low levels of attachment have been associated with low levels of health and well-being and perhaps even low levels of mental health (Shumaker & Taylor, 1983). Interventions that increase attachment would therefore seem worthy of community attention. Although attachment may be largely related to the passage of time and increased familiarity with a location, it can be enhanced by small-scale social groups such as block clubs.

Attachment to the community has important implications for the effectiveness of mental health programs. The use of medical and mental services has been found to be affected by group ties, although whether these ties promote or inhibit the use of services depends on the group's values and norms (Geersten, Klauber, Rindflesh, Kane, & Gray, 1975). If community norms and values favor the use of professional services, then those who have local ties may be more likely to use such services. Attachment to the community may inhibit use of services, however, if

group values and norms are against such participation. The nature and extent of community bonds may therefore affect the success of mental health programs. In communities where the climate is opposed to the use of mental health services the extension or enhancement of natural helping networks may be a more effective solution. This may be particularly important for military communities where lack of confidentiality and fear of a negative impact on one's military career are often cited as barriers to service utilization (Vernez & Zellman, 1987).

Quality of Life Perceptions

The effectiveness of one's informal social support network may affect perceptions about the quality of life as well as the development of attachment to place. Perceptions of quality of life revolve around a sense of well-being and the experience of life as rewarding and secure. The basic essentials of life such as food, shelter, or material goods are taken for granted, and emphasis is placed on less tangible values such as a sense of satisfaction with one's family life, job, and community.

During the 1970's a great deal of interest and research focused on the "quality of life" concept, especially in the military. Two different lines of investigation emerged, one emphasizing the physical and psychological well-being of citizens (cf. Andrews & Withey, 1974; Campbell et al., 1976) and the other concerned with analyzing specific conditions within various communities (Widgery, 1982).

Relation of Community Satisfaction and Life Satisfaction

Disagreement has existed among these two groups concerning the relation of community satisfaction and life satisfaction. Some have hypothesized that community satisfaction is primarily a product of general satisfaction with life or with other major role experiences. In a recent study, however, Fried (1984) found that community satisfaction makes a substantial contribution to life satisfaction even when compared with such major variables as marital and work satisfaction.

Not surprisingly, studies that include a range of income levels in their samples consistently report an inverse relation between socioeconomic status and life satisfaction. For example, low-income persons are more likely to report lower levels of happiness (Bradburn, 1969) and less satisfaction with their lives (Andrews & Withey, 1974; Zaura, Beier, & Cappel, 1977). In a large-scale national investigation, Fried (1984) found that the lower the social class, the greater the contribution of community satisfaction to life satisfaction. At the same time, the lowest levels of community satisfaction were found at the lowest social class levels. Fried concluded that with increasing social class position, the relative contribution of community satisfaction to life satisfaction declines in linear fashion alongside the gradual increase in the contribution of work satisfaction.

In a quality of life survey, Rhoads and Raymond (1981) found three factors: (1) Personal, which revolved around self-maintenance and family relationships; (2) Social, which included activities for maintaining contact with and feedback from other persons; and (3) Community, which represented opportunities for participation in the community. When separate factor analyses were performed for each of three income levels, the Community factor accounted for the majority of the variance at the lowest income level while the Social factor emerged as the most important for the other two income levels. The authors suggested that the Community factor could be thought of as instrumental in providing many of the other sources of satisfaction, such as the education and skills to obtain a satisfying job.

Community and Job Satisfaction

Work often serves an integrating function because it provides people with self-identity, status, esteem, money, friends, associates, structure, and even a reason for living (Upjohn Institute, 1973). Job satisfaction has repeatedly been found to play a significant role in overall life satisfaction (Andrews & Withey, 1974; Campbell et al., 1976; Near, Rice, & Hunt, 1980).

Opportunity Structure

Job satisfaction studies have been criticized for focusing on present-time issues only, such as pay or supervisor contact, and examining jobs independent of their relation to the larger organizational structure in which they are imbedded (Kanter, 1977). Kanter proposed examining the concept of "opportunity structure" rather than satisfaction because opportunity is a more dynamic concept. Job satisfaction tends to reflect day-to-day comfort with a job while opportunity structure is related to a person's overall mode of work involvement. A person could feel reasonably satisfied with the content of the job but frustrated about growth through it or movement from it. This, in turn, could influence satisfaction in other areas such as family life and community life.

In a study of 95 employed females and 65 employed males, Pryor and Reeves (1982) found that work opportunity structure was significantly correlated with family, community, and individual satisfaction for women, but only with community satisfaction for men. According to the researchers, these results indicate that men and women experience work differently and that this experience affects the quality of their lives. They theorized that men are able to compartmentalize their work and nonwork roles more successfully than women.

Gender Differences in Work Satisfaction

Research has generally supported the differences in work satisfaction experienced by men and women. In many studies, work has appeared to be a less central life-interest for women than men (London, Crandall, & Seals, 1977). Some have also argued that a woman's identity off the job tends to be less related to work roles and behaviors (Kanter, 1975). Crouter (1984b) researched the impact of family life on the workplace. The amount of negative impact for men was low, regardless if they were fathers. However, women who were mothers experienced relatively high levels of negative carry-over and stress when their children were of preschool or school-age years.

Work-Family Interface

A great deal of current research has focused on the impact of work on the family. In a study of blue-collar families, Piotrkowski (1979) found that boring, nondemanding work with little opportunity for control generated a pattern of withdrawal from family relations. Demanding and conflict-ridden work situations that were also characterized by low control tended to generate a pattern of tense family interaction.

Other aspects of the work experience may carry over into family and community life. For example, some U. S. firms are moving away from the traditional management system toward participatory approaches in which employees are more involved in the company's decision-making and problem-solving processes (Crouter, 1984a). While originally aimed at increasing productivity and morale, this increased participation may also enhance the employees' psychological and social functioning in ways that make them more effective spouses, parents, and community members.

Relation of Community Satisfaction to Job Satisfaction

The existence of a relation between community satisfaction and job satisfaction is well-known (e.g., Rice, Near, & Hunt, 1979). However, there are two divergent explanations regarding the causal direction of this relation. Some researchers, such as Thorndike (1922), argued that community conditions impacted on job satisfaction. Numerous studies found that when residents perceived community conditions negatively, they were also likely to report dissatisfaction with their jobs (Hulin, 1969; Katzell, Barrett, & Parker, 1961; Stedman, 1945). According to this viewpoint, community conditions act as a "frame of reference" for feelings about one's job (Hulin, 1966). An opposing view was put forth by Kornhauser (1965), who asserted that job satisfaction influenced community satisfaction. He theorized that attitudes carry over or "spillover" from the job to other parts of life. More recent research has tended to favor the spillover explanation (Iris & Barrett, 1973; Orpen, 1978; Rousseau, 1978).

Although both positions can cite supporting research, both have weaknesses in their arguments (Gavin & Montgomery, 1982). For example, the research that supports the "frame of reference" position is less numerous and less current. The "spillover" position has the burden of explaining the causal mechanism responsible for the spillover. It is a hydraulic model and must explain why and how specific job conditions translate to specific behaviors in the community. Both sides have made the mistake of drawing causal conclusions from correlational data.

Perceived Similarity

An alternative theoretical explanation that reconciles these two opposing viewpoints has been put forth by Gavin and Montgomery (1982). They use the principle of stimulus generalization to explain how behavior and attitudes elicited at work may also be observed in the community and vice versa. They argue that the key to understanding the relation between community and job satisfaction is the perceived similarity of stimuli in the two situations. The greater the occurrence of similar stimuli in the two areas across time, the higher the relation of satisfaction on the job and in the community. If stimuli in the community are similar to those at work, such as on a military post, job and community satisfaction should be highly related. They also assert that the relation between community and job satisfaction is reciprocal rather than unidirectional.

Community Competence and Leadership

In addition to evaluating the services provided by communities and the functioning of networks within the community, it is important to evaluate how communities handle problems and the decision-making processes through which community problems are solved. While it is recognized that in the area of organization and leadership, military communities may have some distinctive differences from their civilian counterparts, it is felt that this review remains important because of the comparisons that military persons will make with civilian communities they have known. The following section will discuss the competence of communities in solving problems and some of the ways that community leaders may facilitate this competence.

Description of the Competent Community

The functioning of a community has been described as the ability of community residents to collaborate in the problem-solving process (Cottrell, 1976). This process involves identifying the problems and needs of the community, achieving a consensus on goals and priorities, agreeing on ways and means to implement these goals, and effectively carrying out the required actions. Another social scientist has described the competent community as one in which residents know how and where to obtain resources and are not overwhelmed by feelings of helplessness or powerlessness (Iscoe, 1974). Community competence should not be confused with individual competence. Community competence refers to the functioning of the residents as a unit, not the functioning of individual residents or certain groups. A community populated with competent individuals may not be a competent community.

Cottrell (1976) has described eight characteristics of a competent community: (1) commitment; (2) self-other awareness and clarity of situational definitions; (3) articulateness; (4) effective communication; (5) participation; (6) conflict containment and accomodation; (7) management of relations with the larger society; and (8) machinery for facilitating participant interaction and decision making. These characteristics are aspects of community functioning that can be targeted for programs to improve community competence.

Effects of Community Participication

The amount and type of participation in community affairs may influence how residents experience community life. Differences in views of community priorities and in experiences of community life have been found between community residents and service providers (Shaver & Cole, 1973) as well as between civically involved and uninvolved community residents. Mitchell, Barbarin, and Hurley (1981) conducted a study that contrasted the experience of community life and the use of community resources of service providers, active citizens, and inactive citizens. They found that service providers and civically active citizens reported more community strengths, deficits, problem-solving alternatives, and satisfaction than did civically inactive citizens.

Role of Leaders

Community leaders can play a significant role in enhancing the competence of communities to solve their problems or resolve issues that face them. In a recent study of factors that influenced community satisfaction, Pollack and Parham (1988) found that community residents are much more satisfied with their communities if they feel they can trust their leaders to take their interests into account. In an analysis of factors that predict community satisfaction, a perception of responsive leadership was found to be directly related to community satisfaction and to explain a significant proportion of the variance in that measure (Kingery, 1988).

Studies of leadership in military communities have not been as common but the data suggest that leaders in those communities are just as important. In a recent study of factors predicting retention decisions of married Air Force personnel, Orthner and Pittman (1986) found that the belief that installation leaders are responsive to family needs was the most important predictor of their perception of the quality of life in the military. Likewise, in a recent needs assessment of an Army community, it was found that many of the concerns about quality of life were tied to instrumental issues directed at community leaders, such as post transportation, housing maintenance, hours of operation for post services and the like (Orthner et al., 1985). The ability of residents to affect leaders on these types of issues is often of crucial importance to community satisfaction, whether the setting is military or civilian.

Conclusions and Implications

This review has highlighted the importance of community satisfaction for our understanding of the relationship between work and family issues. The community is an important context within which individuals and families meet their need for belonging.

Most of the research on community satisfaction has been conducted with civilian samples. Nevertheless, military communities share many similarities with civilian communities and increasingly, the barriers between the military post and the off-post community are becoming much more permeable. Military communities are no longer, if they ever were, isolated systems with only tangential

ties to local institutions and agencies. Today, these communities are characterized by the constant flow of personnel, family members, support systems and organizational cultures between military and civilian systems. The conclusion section of this review will highlight some of the major findings about factors that predict community satisfaction as well as consequences of that satisfaction.

The factors that contribute to community satisfaction in small communities differ from those in larger communities. Community satisfaction, research studies indicate, is more intrinsically derived in small communities and extrinsically derived in larger communities. This means that residents of small communities tend to look more toward informal compared to formal support systems in order to meet their needs.

It is difficult to determine if military communities are subject to the same relationships between community size and resident satisfaction. Given that these communities experience more change in their social networks, residents of military communities may behave more like persons from larger communities, thereby demanding more in terms of services and support systems in order to compensate for inadequate informal networks. Since smaller installations may be handicapped in their ability to provide a broad range of services, it may make more sense for community leaders of small posts to invest more resources in building strong informal support networks to compensate for demands on inadequate formal support systems.

The adequacy of informal support systems tends to be crucial to community satisfaction. Whether the community is organized around military or civilian goals, informal support systems have been found to be especially crucial to community satisfaction. While formal support systems can sometimes compensate for the services provided by informal support networks, they cannot provide the interpersonal understanding and encouragement that informal support systems typically provide. In nearly all studies that have been conducted, community attachments and the willingness of people to invest themselves in their communities are dependent on the degree to which there are strong kinship or friendship-based social networks present in that community.

Age and stage of the family life cycle also play significant roles in community satisfaction. People who are younger tend to look for different things from their communities than those who are older. Also, families with younger children tend to want different things from their community than those with older children or those who are childless. Younger residents and parents tend to be much more interested in communities that provide good services, good schools and participatory types of leadership.They tend to form their own informal support networks built around other younger adults who meet their parental, occupational and other support needs. Older residents, meanwhile, are also interested in services but not to the extent of younger people. They tend to have more resources and are able to meet more of their needs on the open market. Their needs for community tend to be much more intrinsic and they are often better able to influence the power structure because of their positions and responsibilities in the community.

In military communities, some of the same factors apply to community satisfaction. Younger soldiers and their spouses are much more dependent on civilian and military leadership to provide the services they need, yet they feel more disenfranchised in their ability to influence leaders to accurately assess their needs and provide the appropriate support system. Their commitment to their communities, therefore, is much more fragile and their satisfaction with the community and the armed services is contingent on the responsiveness of leaders to their needs. Older, more mature service members and families are better able to influence the community system. They know how to "get things done" so that their community satisfactions are likely to be based more on general attitudes toward organizational life and less on the specific nature of the community that surrounds them.

Women and men also look for different qualities in their communities. The satisfactions of women with their communities are much more dependent on the quality of services that are available than is true for men. Women are also more interested in informal support systems that are outside of the organizational context of the work environment. Men, however, are much more likely to view a closer relationship between work and community environments. They are more interested in the views of leadership; specifically, they want leaders who are able to anticipate their needs and provide support without new demands on the part of community residents.

No matter what their age, most people want to participate in community decisions. The ability to influence leaders and to participate in community decisions is a strong interest of both men and women according to the community research literature. Even though people are clearly willing to allow leaders to make day-to-day decisions, studies repeatedly indicate that the ability to influence leaders or to have leaders who respond to their needs is a major factor in community satisfaction. Community studies indicate that people are willing to tolerate many different types of community leadership as long as they feel that the leadership style can accommodate citizen input and can adopt new priorities after taking that input into account.

The style of community leadership most associated with the military is bureaucratic. Even though this organizational structure can insulate community leaders from the interests of community residents, there is a growing awareness that leaders who do not take into account the community concerns of soldiers and family members are unlikely to be highly regarded by community residents. It appears that, even in a military environment, mechanisms for community input should be accommodated in order to promote community satisfaction, as well as satisfaction with and commitment to the military service itself.

Community services do not play a significant role in community satisfaction unless they are poor or absent. The research studies that have been conducted suggest that community services are a necessary but not sufficient condition for community satisfaction. While high quality services can positively influence people's attitudes toward their community, poor services or the absence of needed services are more likely to negatively impact on community attitudes and satisfactions. Whether the community is military or civilian, a basic complement of support services are expected. According to the research that has been conducted to date, the ability of the community to meet these expectations for support appears to be more important to satisfaction than the quality of the support that is provided.

The level of participation in community activities affects the use of community support programs and services. In particular, satisfaction with the community and participation in it appear to be prerequisites to the use of support programs. This makes sense given that people are unlikely to use services unless they have some

means of learning about them, becoming aware of their strengths and weaknesses, and accessing the service that is designed to address their needs. Community satisfaction and participation in support services go hand in hand. People who are dissatisfied with their communities are unlikely to trust the support services that are offered. Likewise, those who use support services are more likely to be satisfied with the community that recognizes and provides for their needs.

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